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# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Sicily's hungry babies need food, not bullets

# GAAOLED: HE

# HELPED THE STARVING

From Professor Giovanni Pioli

**DANILO DOLCI, 35-year-old Italian follower of Gandhi, is to be tried in Italy this month for leading the hungry unemployed people of Sicily to voluntarily repair a muddy impassable road.**

This was an out-growth of his work among the most poverty-stricken people of Sicily during the last four years.

After these years of constructive redemptive work for the poor, he has become known—according to the Superintendent of Police of Palermo—as a “well-known ring-leader” deserving arrest for “wanton offence and resistance to police, for abusive execution of work on a public area, for refusal of an order to disperse a seditious demonstration organised and led by him.”

### Babies die

He had urged the Government authorities to carefully consider the tragic situation in Partinico and neighbouring villages of Sicily. There the fishermen, masons and manual workers were hungry and starving this cruel winter because of lack of work.

Some of them in efforts to feed their babies turned to banditry. The Government have taken great steps to suppress the banditry, but very little to feed the hungry children.

Dolci issued a Manifesto to acquaint Italians with the facts:

“Partinico bandits want to become Italian citizens; they demand fewer policemen and civil servants; instead they demand schools, sanitation measures, and work for the Trappeto fishermen, the Partinico peasants and workers; they demand justice for the young men doomed to unemployment and mothers doomed to seeing their children die ‘with open mouths;’ they demand relief from unbearable ‘family taxation.’”

The conditions in Partinico owing to unemployment and low wages, even in the few working months, are not less than disastrous. Witness the description by Dolci on television in late January:

“Little children here not only lack education: they lack necessary food. I had never before thought of suicide as anything but the consequence of brain derangement.

### Work—not guns

“But my last experience of little children, yes, little children, looking at my mouth attentively when my ground-floor room happens to be open during my meal—looking, looking, and swallowing their own saliva, is imposing on my conscience the feeling that to be morally consistent I ought each time to satiate the hunger of them all before mine; that is, instead of mine.

“Which is far more than my week of fast once a year.

“My taking food, just to enable myself to stand on my feet and gather strength better to defend them against lack of physical and moral nourishment is causing me a growing uneasiness, as being an improper compromise.”

The authorities paid little attention, however, to his pleas on behalf of the hungry.

On January 30, Danilo Dolci led a mass fast of about 1,000 unemployed from Partinico, Trappeto and Balestrate and some syndicalists along the seashore, far from town.

The date was chosen because it was the eighth anniversary of the assassination of Gandhi.

Fishermen, out of work because of the mass hauls taken by the large motorised boats of the foreign fishing companies, arrived at the chosen spot along the sea-shore in their boats.

The vessels carried placards with inscriptions: “Enough of lawless fishing!” “Give assistance to invalids!” “Laws deserve respect!” “Enough of machine-guns! We want to work!” “Let us respect the right to education and the fourth article of the Constitution” (which guarantees the right to work).

### A thousand fast

The people sat on the beach for their 24 hour fast.

To meet this challenge, the “protectors of law and order” laid an ambush and the fasting “bandits” were dispersed.

As for the citizens of Partinico, their part of the movement was to develop a demonstration on February 2, on the lines explained by

### A FIRM WAR RESISTER

During World War II Danilo Dolci entered the army when conscripted, but refused to take part in hand-to-hand combat. After completing his “passive” military service he refused to answer a second call to the army and was imprisoned.

In late 1952 he issued a statement declaring:

“The fact that I have made up my mind to refuse every imposition contrary to my conscience does not mean I am against service to the community.”

“I now feel it necessary to declare that if I am called upon to kill or collaborate even indirectly in a war, I shall refuse; I do not want to be an assassin.”

In 1954 he wrote to the President of the Republic of Italy, declaring that should he be called once more to arms, he would witness to his conscientious objection, and others would also.

the following advance declaration, signed by seven hundred of them, women included:

“Millions of men in our regions have no choice but to stand idle six months in the year: which is an awful crime against our family and society.

“In Partinico alone, out of 25,000 people, seven thousand are compelled to stand idle six months in the year; while seven thousand children and young people lack opportunities to get even a fundamental education.

“Now we refuse to grow ‘lazzaroni,’ we refuse to make-shift for honest work by turning bandits; we want properly to contribute to life in the search for good for all. No one is allowed to call it a crime.

“We, as fathers of families and citizens, feel the duty generously to co-operate to change the earth’s face, banning murders of every sort.

### Reverse strike

“We ask the authorities to collaborate with us, by pointing out what sort of work is to be done, and how: in default of which, we will start with the assistance of technicians, some kind of most urgent public work.

“To make our behaviour clear to all, our plan is to fast on Monday, January 30, and

start our work on Thursday, February 2 . . . We want to be and act as right fathers and mothers and citizens too.”

On TV Dolci announced, that the voluntary work would go on, till paid work was secured for them together with the respect for law: “We are here to inform everybody, that no charge by police will prevent us from working.”

On February 2, these people began the voluntary repairing of a “trazzera,” a main country road, which, like most such roads, was impassable because of mud.

This method in which people voluntarily do work they are not required to do is known as a “reverse strike.” It involves great sacrifice and is a service to the whole community.

The authorities warned the several hundred voluntary workers led by Dolci to give up their “abusive work on a public area.”

Danilo Dolci refused the order in the name of the Italian Constitution, which in Article Four states:

“The Republic acknowledges the right of all to work, and provides for the conditions which make this right effective. Every citizen has the duty to discharge some activity or function—according to his own power and choice—thus contributing to the material and spiritual progress of society.”

### Arrests

He and his fellow leaders were promptly arrested, and a brutal attack was launched against the others.

They were forced to disperse by swinging rifle-stocks used as clubs.

The gloomy prison of Ucciardone in Palermo which once housed the bandits of Gulliano, this cold winter gives uncomfortable shelter to Danilo Dolci, worthy Italian follower of Gandhi.

On Tuesday, February 21, Danilo Dolci started a new period of fasting “as a protest against the casting of derision at and publicly betraying the eternal laws, and the highest national law, the Constitution; in the hope that, at least our children and all young people, may not grow in the acquiescence to absurd oppression.”

The reverse strike of February 2 is but one of a quite recent series of similar incidents in

## THE CHAPLAIN WHO WOULD NOT SURRENDER

The Rev. A. Herbert Gray, DD, founder and first chairman of the Marriage Guidance Council, died in London last week at the age of 87. An army chaplain during World War I, he was for many years a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union.

Among the articles which he contributed to Peace News was one published in 1938 in which he told “How I became a pacifist.” The following is an extract from it:

Must I then in all circumstances refuse to fight? Must I divorce myself from a world in which differences are settled by killing? For a long time—I think for a shamefully long time—I temporised before that issue. I loved so many soldiers, and did not love so many pacifists. I also loved Britain so much that I was repelled by the very thought of any movement of my spirit which should lead to dissociating myself from Britain in any circumstances. It seemed to me clear that a thorough-going pacifist must at times seem to himself a man without a country.

I said in those days: “I believe in peace, but . . .” and then followed a host of reservations. I was genuinely troubled and occupied a weak and vacillating position.

Further I saw that if I became an out and out pacifist I should have to preach pacifism. I should have to try to convert others. I should have to wish that the whole nation might go pacifist. I wonder whether we all face that.

It is folly to preach pacifism without wishing for a pacifist Britain . . .

But the conception of a pacifist Britain in the midst of a militarist world at first appalled me as much as it still appalls all military-minded people.

What would happen if we as a nation refused to use threats of force and trusted wholly to the security given by just and generous policies? Would we not be as sheep in the midst of wolves? Would we not be in the position of men who, being set to guard others, should lay aside the means of

defence? Without a navy might not the inhabitants of this island be reduced to starvation?

Those thoughts gave me pause. I did not want to break faith with Christ. I could not conceive his blessing me if I went forth to kill for ANY reason. But it seemed to me that if Britain as a whole were to obey Christ the results might be most alarming.

There, for many days, I remained, mentally and spiritually stranded. And I found many companions. I met men in plenty, and some of them were ministers, who said: “Yes, I believe in peace, but at present and in these circumstances it would not be safe to take the out and out Christian way.”

For myself I found that position increasingly untenable. It made me feel that I was afraid to be wholly Christian. It destroyed my joy in God. I was sure that I had to go back or forward. But to go back would mean for me the surrender of Christianity . . .

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I could not go back. And then, as I hesitated to go forward, I realised that I was afraid to trust Christ for myself and my nation, because I could not be sure beforehand what the consequences would be. I was really asking for guarantees beforehand, that no serious suffering would befall me or mine.

Now that may be good worldly wisdom; but emphatically it is not trust. It is not faith. And with that perception I came to the end of my journey. There was nothing possible for me but the real pacifist position.

## JOSS ON THE PEACE-PATH



“If war were abolished forever, who would appreciate the blessings of Peace?”

Sicily, Calabria, Puglia and Lucania, where peaceful gatherings and “reverse strikes” have been violently attacked by the “forces of law and order.” Scores have been wounded and arrests made by the hundreds.

But it took the figure of Danilo Dolci, with his documentary studies of conditions in his field of work, and his partial successes, to give rise to a chain of protest meetings, appeals, telegrams of solidarity and lively debate in the Italian Parliament, followed by intervention by representatives of almost all political parties.

The ardent zeal of the State authorities to carry out their duties by dispersing the peaceful fast and voluntary work is in sharp contrast to their reluctance to carry out the redistribution of the large landed estates in Sicily, already authorised by law and to provide work for the peasants.

### “Hour of resistance”

The Roman Catholic Church professes interest in the dignity and the material and moral welfare of the masses but, as Sr. Malfa remarked in Parliament, Dolci must face “diatribes in the Catholic Press” against him.

Apparently he must “pay the price for professing an ‘Open Religion’ and for his loud denunciation of the evils and distresses of the masses, made worse by (Government) policy.”

He must suffer “for having proclaimed the policy of persuasion and friendship instead of compulsion and terrorism.”

In closing the discussion on the Government declaration on February 13, a Socialist MP said, “The reaction raised throughout the country by the arrest of Danilo Dolci is a sign that in Partinico the hour of resignation has ended, and the hour of resistance has arrived.”

Let us hope the Gandhian spirit, and the thus far successful methods of Danilo Dolci will continue to prevail. The struggle commands the support of all who believe in social justice, especially pacifists.

The lamp lit by Danilo Dolci shall not be allowed to go out. Many people are following his lead.

—WRI News Service.

See page four: “The Story of Danilo Dolci”

### PRISON PICKETING COMPLETED

EIGHT days and nights of picketing Wormwood Scrubs prison ended on Sunday with a march to Hyde Park where Sybil Morrison addressed a meeting.

A report on this successful Pacifist Youth Action Group venture will appear in Peace News next week.

### STARS OF TV FOR CONSCRIPTION PANEL

A LARGER hall than the one first announced has been taken by the No Conscription Council for their Brains Trust on Wednesday, March 21.

Church House, Great Smith St., Westminster, is to be used, not Caxton Hall.

The Panel will include Julian Amery, MP, Frank Owen, journalist and broadcaster, Dr. Donald Soper, Stephen Swinger, MP, and Woodrow Wyatt, Lord Faringdon will preside.



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### EXILED BY IMPERIALISM

TO realise the true character of Sir John Harding's statement following the arrest and deportation of Archbishop Makarios, the British reader (for whom it was intended) would do well to compare it to statements issued by the German Command in France during World War II condemning the activities of the "Resistance" and threatening those who participated in them.

It will then be seen what a nauseating document it is.

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the Observer remarks that "it is the Government's view that [the Archbishop] made the decisive mistake of not realising that the concessions announced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd were the absolute maximum that Britain was prepared to offer."

Just so; and the action that followed the Archbishop's refusal to accept this "final offer" is an act of war. The contemptible job of presenting it as an act of impartial justice has fallen to Sir John Harding.

Hardly anyone outside Britain, and very few British people, will be deceived by such a statement.

It is this fact that makes it of such evil importance; it is a further step in the increasing cynical acceptance of the dictates of power politics as sufficient reason to set aside moral values in the relationships of peoples.

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THE Cypriots have resorted to violence against alien domination, as did the French from 1941-45, as did the Irish in 1920-21, and as did the Americans from 1773-83.

We regard this resort to violence as regrettable and involving the rejection of the most powerful instrument an oppressed people can use in the assertion of their will to freedom.

But we also see that Sir John Harding and the powers he represents have no moral right to condemn an attempt to achieve political ends by means of armed violence. Wherever British or any other imperial power is maintained it is by means of armed violence.

It is, in fact, this inescapable circumstance that constitutes the outstanding reason why an oppressed people are choosing their least effective instrument when they resort to violence.

Armed violence is the only way in which an imperialist government can assert itself against the desire of a people for self-determination. Non-violent methods cannot be used as a means to imperialist domination.

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THE power of non-violence is only operative against oppression and cannot be used as a means to oppression.

There lies its great moral power and its ultimate invincibility wherever those who resort to it have the devotion and courage to be steadfast.

It is clear that Archbishop Makarios has seen the truth of this. Before the Cypriots adopted those methods of violence available to a people prevented from having a national army, fully associating himself with self-determination, he expressed a hope that they would seek to realise their objectives by non-violent methods.

It is this fact that reveals the extent of the deceit and hypocrisy in Sir John Harding's statement.

He remarks that when the Archbishop became associated with the formation of the Cypriot nationalist youth organisation (which is counted against him as a crime), "he spoke of the need for secrecy and for sacrifices, for the boycott of British goods and the British way of life, for the destruction of shops displaying English signs, for the production of a clandestine newspaper, and for establishment of contributory funds for the national struggle."

Observe the unscrupulous sleight of hand by means of which Sir John slips in that phrase "destruction of shops."

What the Archbishop was advocating was clearly the adoption of the methods by which Gandhi developed the movement that freed India.

But by the importation of the word "destruction" as something different from the successful operation of a boycott of British goods and retailers, he seeks to convey something closer to the "terrorism" upon which he bases the justification for his action against the Archbishop.

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WHAT has happened is that the Archbishop has refused to accept a "self-determination" which is to be operated in a manner that his people are not to be permitted to determine.

He has also refused to "sell," by agreeing to their retention in prison, the men who share his objectives but who have not shared his view as to the best means of pursuing those objectives.

Sir John Harding and the British Government are in no position to condemn him for this, for they also seek the realisation of their objectives by means of violence, although the armed strength at their disposal is so vastly greater than that of the Cypriots that it is not called "terrorism."

It would not be appropriate to demand the recall of Sir John Harding, for we have no doubt that he has acted with the approval of his Government. But we have little doubt that he will have to be removed before a settlement can be reached.

We have also little doubt that the Archbishop will have to be brought back to Cyprus.

### GANDHI'S SHADOW OVER ALABAMA

By Bobb Hamilton

I BLUNDERED into the "Lucy" Press conference held at the Headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in New York on March 2 on my way to do some research on the Montgomery Boycott.

I walked in in the middle of an intramural fight between the reporters and the TV and camera-men over whether the latter were to be allowed to record the question session or whether they were muzzled and censored until the reporters were through with her.

The deadlock was still on when stirrings outside heralded the presence of Thurgood Marshall, Chief Counsel of the NAACP, and Miss Autherine Lucy.

Miss Lucy and Mr. Marshall worked their way, amidst applause, through the jungle of news-hungry humanity and electric TV and camera cables.

#### NO ANGER

Miss Lucy's pretty, broad-cheeked face reflected the inner turmoil and anguish she had gone through in the previous 12 hours. "I thought we had won!" she had said earlier on

Bobb Hamilton is Peace News' new Race Relations Correspondent in the USA. Mr. Hamilton grew up in the Negro slums of Cleveland, Ohio. He knows personally the consequences of prejudice and discrimination.

He was in the US army during World War II and fought in the Battle of Okinawa. After the war, he entered Ohio State University where he was active in the religious and social action groups. While there he came to a radical pacifist position.

He received his Bachelor of Arts degree there in Psychology. Mr. Hamilton is now employed in a children's day care centre in New York City, and is completing his work for his Masters degree at the New School for Social Research.

Some of his poetry is included in a collection being published soon by Mentor Books. He is married and has two children.

her arrival at the New York airport.

And so had we all.

The Federal Court Justice at Birmingham (Hobart Grooms) had ordered the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa to readmit Miss Lucy by Monday, March 5.

Less than 12 hours later the Trustees there voted to expell her. Judge Grooms had said in his verdict, "This court does not believe the law enforcement agencies of this state have broken down!"

She read a prepared statement—"I am, of course, completely disheartened. . . I intend to continue not to be angry or to bear illwill to anyone. . . I cannot see any reason to aban-

THE Bill which will abolish the use of the death penalty for the crime of murder has received its second reading in the House of Commons but the majority on a free vote was smaller than that of last month on the motion calling for abolition.

In the coming committee stages of the Bill there may be difficulty in retaining a majority. Much care will be needed by the sponsors of the Bill to ensure its passage, and the urgent need now is for those in favour of abolition to offer their support, thanks or encouragement to MPs who are known to be supporters of abolition.

They need to be reminded that their continuing support is necessary.

The strongest line now being taken by the Government is that the abolitionists are setting for the country and its prison administrators a difficult problem in handling the murderers who will stay in prison for long years, and who would under the present dispensation be hanged.

It is a poor line in truth, for the experience of other countries without the death penalty has shown that the murderer can be handled by normal methods in penal institutions.

He is regarded here as a difficult problem because the fact that he escapes the gallows focuses attention on him; when the gallows have gone the murderer will have considerably less repute in prison and a less difficult psychological start for his sentence.

#### No new problem

AS it is, the prison staffs of this country, for all their difficulties and the faults which arise largely from these, handle many odd problems, and many dangerous men.

It is a strange situation for the Home Secretary, in opposing the abolition of the death penalty, to imply that those for whom he is responsible in the administration of our prisons will be incapable of dealing with an additional, and comparatively small, problem.

Anyone who knows our prisons and their staffs will regard it as a poor tribute to them to suggest that they may be troubled or disturbed by the situation which will arise if capital punishment goes, and about fifteen more prisoners per annum are added to the present population of 19,000.

The biggest howler of last Monday's debate and of any debate for a long time must be the naive statement that no Christian theologian has suggested that capital punishment was against the teaching of the Church. Shades of Archbishop Temple!!!

And the biggest joke—surely Mr. Raikes suggestion that there has been a vast increase in insurances for dependants of policemen. Who gave him this confidential information?

#### Less a man

ONE is repeatedly struck by the deterioration of character and destruction of a sense of human worth which racial discrimination imposes on prejudiced white people.

Take the event preceding the present inspiring boycott of the buses by

the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama.

This boycott began following the arrest of a Negro woman who refused to give her seat to a white man who boarded the bus after her.

We do not know what the man's behaviour was. But it is likely that out of fear of offending the South's rigid conventions, he kept uncomfortably quiet and allowed the bus conductor to insist that the woman move.

Thus he caddishly failed, as must hundreds, to behave decently, because of what others thought. He must have left that bus feeling less of a

### Hanging Prejudice Totalitarianism

man worthy of dignity than when he entered.

Take the case of Miss Autherine Lucy.

After the Court decision ordering her readmittance to the University of Alabama, its Trustees expelled her on the ground that she had charged University officials with encouraging violence against her as a means of keeping her out of the all-white University.

They said discipline could not be maintained if any students were permitted to make "such baseless, outrageous and unfounded charges."

Miss Lucy had in fact withdrawn the charge.

#### Pity for whites

BUT suppose she had not, and even that there was no truth in it: it would have simply meant that a young woman in a period of intense emotional strain resulting from persecution by a mob had permitted herself to allege something that was without justification.

Only in a sick society could a body of mature men decide to expel such a person.

The trustees say Miss Lucy may be killed by the mob if she returns. They may be right. Perhaps they, at their wit's end to prevent that and its consequences, could find no better way than by expelling her.

But the Trustees must feel somewhat less as men for the lack of chivalry and decent human understanding of their action, taken at its face value.

The Negroes in Alabama do well to say that their actions must be accompanied by love.

The whites of Alabama need all the pity of which loving hearts are capable.

#### Free unions?

IN 1953 the Russian Government decided to return to the International Labour Organisation. This

immediately raised a difficult problem for the ILO which is organised on the basis that there shall be separate and independent representation for three groups: governments, employers, and trade unionists.

The trade unions and the employers in the ILO took the view that the participation of Russia was not possible, as only free and independent organisations could participate and these did not exist in Russia.

The representatives of the governments in the ILO opposed this view, and a fact-finding committee was set up to go into the matter.

This committee has now prepared its report, and a discussion of it by the ILO should help clarify the issues involved in international congresses of appointed representatives from totalitarian countries with representatives of bodies from countries where there is freedom of organisation.

Unfortunately the fact-finding committee has confined its activities to an examination of legislative texts, a very unsatisfactory substitute, for investigations on the spot.

#### Difficult question

THERE is a majority report signed by Lord McNair of Britain and Senor Alba of Mexico and a minority statement signed by Judge Cornelius of Pakistan.

With regard to employers' organisations it finds that there are employers in Communist countries in the sense in which the term is generally used. It suggests that the managements of industries can make a comparable contribution.

This is probably sound as there is likely to be little substantial difference between the relationship of the industrial managers with government in totalitarian countries and the relationship of employers (and managements in nationalised industries) and governments in countries where there is freedom of organisation.

With the trade unions the situation is different.

The majority report remarks that the documents that have been examined give the impression that the unions "are quite in a position to look after their interests and that it is not likely that they are subject to domination and control by the Government."

It adds, however, that "the question which is more difficult to answer and which does not enter into our mandate is to what extent the Government as well as the unions are themselves subject to domination by the Communist Party."

We hope that without burking facts it will be possible for the ILO to hit upon an acceptable arrangement for a useful relationship, not only Russia is involved but other totalitarian countries which include the Russian bloc "satellites" and Yugoslavia, Spain and Portugal.

#### They sent a

Last month of Christians and observance of throughout the That such an is shown by th Earle, Executi Division, The Christians and toba, published quier (Journal This is the stor age. On Decem brought this very doctor in a small doctor refused to hurried to the ho in the communi abruptly. Filled w went to the hom the community. H boy.

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## They sent a sick boy away

Last month the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews sponsored the observance of "Brotherhood Week" throughout the country.

That such an emphasis is necessary is shown by this report from Fraser Earle, Executive Director, Central Division, The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Winnipeg, Manitoba, published in the February Inquirer (Journal of Young Doukhobors).

This is the story of a boy eight years of age. On December 2, 1955, a mother brought this very sick, feverish boy to a doctor in a small Manitoba community. The doctor refused to treat the boy. The mother hurried to the home of the second doctor in the community and was sent away abruptly. Filled with desperate urgency she went to the home of the third doctor in the community. He refused to examine the boy.

The mother then proceeded to the office of the Public Health Nurse who immediately took the boy's temperature—it was 106 degrees. The nurse consulted with the Social Worker in an adjoining office. What could they do? This boy's only fault was being Indian.

The Public Health Nurse and the social worker consulted with the resident Indian Agent. He advised them that there was no available treatment for Indians in this town. He explained that all three doctors had signed a letter that they would not treat Indians.

The mother was advised to order a cab and the boy was rushed to St. Boniface Hospital in Winnipeg, at a cost of \$10.00 cab fare. Here he received treatment.

## Briefly

Japanese House of Representatives has approved unanimously a resolution expressing opposition to continued nuclear tests.

Nearly 2,000 "sincere and solid workers" are engaged with Vinoba Bhave on his Land Gift Mission work in India.

A Co-existence Centre, intent upon spreading peaceful co-existence and world fellowship, has been opened in India. It plans to run a monthly magazine, "Co-existence", and welcomes news and opinions. Organizer is L. K. Gupta, and the address is Mahalle Buildings, New Shukrawari Rd., Nagpur City (M.P.) India.

The Scottish Divisional Conference of the Independent Labour Party has passed a resolution which recognises the greatest danger to peace is the failure of the Great Powers to disarm. It believes "that peace can only be achieved through the emergence of a Socialist movement which is also pacifist."

One week's imprisonment was the alternative sentence given to Graham Betts, when he refused to pay £1 fine for not submitting to a medical examination for national service. Betts, who objects to conscription on religious grounds, was told by the magistrate, "We cannot be interested in the reasons." A further three months' imprisonment was given to Betts, when, following the first charge, he again refused to be examined.

A Six-Member Goodwill Delegation from Uganda to India has met the Vice-President. The Delegation, which is visiting India on the invitation of Indian Council of Cultural Relations, will be in the country for a month.

## CHALLENGE

I am sure that all readers will appreciate the opportunity given by the recent broadcast on pacifism in the "Challenge" series on the Northern Home Service, and I would like to take this opportunity of thanking the many friends who sent me their good wishes.

We hope that many listeners have had the opportunity of hearing something about pacifism, perhaps for the first time, and that we may get enquiries as a result. However, it is obviously impossible to state the pacifist case in five minutes or to deal with criticisms adequately in a brief discussion.

That is what we must be doing all the time in the Peace Pledge Union.

If the broadcast was a challenge to non-pacifists to give our case an impartial hearing and adequate consideration, it is also a challenge to us who are pacifists to renewed activity in our individual witness and corporate campaigning.

How many others have you tried to convince about the claims of pacifism?

I appeal to you to do all that you possibly can to help, and not least to send a special contribution to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund in appreciation of the opportunity which we were given and as an encouragement to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters to follow it up with renewed activity.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150  
Amount received to date: £127

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to  
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

# ANSWERING THE CRY OF CHILDREN

By Leslie Hale M.P.

ALL over the world the cry of the children is heard: the cry of hundreds of millions of them, blinded by trachoma, rotten with syphilis, crippled by yaws, infected with leprosy, menaced by malaria, weakened by beri beri and pellagra or prostrated by acute malnutrition.

Such hope as there is for them is provided by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund which has provided by all the great nations for its task a sum of less than a penny per year for each child needing their help.

There is no more romantic story than the struggle of this wonderful organisation, with its gallant staff of pioneer physicians, scientists and technicians—some working in Asian jungles, some in tropic swamps, some in arctic cold or in African deserts—to bring help and hope to the neediest of the suffering children.

The very first of the projects upon which they have embarked, or in which they are participating, is deeply moving. Seven thousand pounds on diphtheria toxoid and whooping cough immunisation in Bechuanaland where 120,000 children will have been immunised against these locally very serious diseases by 1958; and one hundred thousand pounds for the hoped for eradication of malaria in French West Africa and the protection of over two million people.

## UNICEF's accomplishments

The fund plans the examination of over two million children for trachoma in Taiwan; the provision of necessary antibiotics; and the extension of maternity and child welfare services in Assam (the tenth Indian state to be so organised).

## YOUTH CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

"AFRICA ON THE MARCH" is to be the theme of a conference for young people which the National Peace Council is organising for the week-end April 27-29 at Beatrice Webb House, Dorking.

The aim will be to envisage Central and Southern Africa as a whole, and to discuss both the common problems and aspirations of, as well as the differences between, the territories concerned.

The panel of speakers will consist of Mr. John Hatch (Commonwealth Officer of the Labour Party), Mr. Reginald Reynolds (author of "Beware of Africans" and a Director of Peace News), Mr. J. Chinamano, of Rhodesia, Mr. Okoi Arikpo, of Nigeria, Mrs. Chirwa, of Nyasaland, Mr. Tom M'Boya of Kenya, Dr. Guy Routh, of South Africa and M. A. Blanchet, Lecturer at L'Ecole Normale de la France Outre-Mer.

Full particulars and application forms are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

Skim milk is provided for the mothers and children, the victims of the Pakistan floods; penicillin helps to eradicate yaws, anti-tuberculosis vaccine goes to Indonesia.

The list of noble work of human service stretches from China to Chile, from the British colony of Nigeria with its estimated nine hundred thousand lepers to Guatemala with over a million examinations to be made for consumption.

UNICEF depends in the main for its funds upon grants from national exchequers. Nevertheless it welcomes also voluntary subscriptions.

In every way but one UNICEF has moved from strength to strength.

It has extended its operations, won the confidence of peoples in all parts of the world, overcome local prejudices, and, with the minimum possible spent on headquarters staffing, and the maximum made available for actual treatment, brings a message of love and hope and peace in the darkest parts of a tragic world.

## Answer the challenge

Yet the record of successive governments in their treatment of UNICEF is an appalling one. An all-party delegation recently urged that the grant should be increased; the Chancellor has now announced that there will be no increase this year.

We are now in the disgraceful position that our per capita contribution does not rank in the first dozen countries, and that we actually now receive, in expenditure by the fund in our colonial territories, much more than we subscribe.

The average family of four in the United Kingdom contributes through taxation, approximately one hundred and twenty pounds a year to the arms programme, between thirty and forty pounds to its own health service, nearly a pound to maintaining the army of Jordan and fourpence a year to the Children's Fund.

If you feel a sense of shame at the figures will you write to your MP and tell him so, and ask your friends for support. The real path to peace is through the creation of international confidence and understanding.

There is no surer way of bringing it to the hearts and minds of the mothers of all nations.

A Stuttgart demonstration against re-armament took place on January 23 this year. Members of several socialist youth organisations took part in a torch-light procession. In a speech it was said that even if Parliament passed the law of rearmament, they would continue their opposition.

## Neutrals won't like it

DR. WALTER R. DORNBERGER, who was commanding general of the German rocket centre at Peenemunde where the V.1 and V.2 missiles were developed, and who is now the guided missile specialist of the Bell Aircraft Corporation in America, said in the course of a luncheon address to the Aviation Writers' Association in the National Press Club at Washington:

"If the projected Atlas Intercontinental Ballistic Missile achieved the reliability of the German V.2—which was 75 per cent—it will mean that 25 out of every 100 shots might hit a neutral country, and we may be sure they won't like it."

An Intercontinental Ballistic Missile of 5,000 miles range, according to the same speaker, would be more than 100 feet long, would weigh "some hundreds of thousands of pounds," and, with a hydrogen warhead, would wipe out an area of ten square miles.

—New York Times, Feb. 22, 1956.

## WARDLE ON THIRD WAY

From TREVOR WADSWORTH

FORMER Peace News staff man Tom Wardle, now lay minister of Underbank Unitarian Chapel, Stannington, near Sheffield, told a Mansfield Peace Group meeting recently that a new and powerful dynamic—so compelling that it would rouse people in the West and the East out of their apathy, fear and indifference—was needed if we were to escape the trend towards totalitarianism which was apparent in the two great power blocs of the world.

"It must be not merely a Third Idea, but a Third Way of life—a way of life which could guarantee to all those who supported it, and in its fulfilment in the world, peace and freedom for everybody," he said.

"It would have to be peace without the kind of economic tyranny, often very subtle and indistinct, that we have in our Western way of life—the kind of economic tyranny that gives rise to Communist revolt, a peace without the tyranny that Communism represents. It must be a way of life superior both to the way of life of the East and West."

Some of the problems that would have to be tackled by such a new element, said Mr. Wardle, were de-centralisation of power; the end of the colonial system, and consequent reduction in our standard of living by the elimination of non-essentials to the good life—first and foremost, armaments; the development of a balanced and more self-sufficient economy in Britain; help for Africa and Asia in their war on want.

Reginald Reynolds broadcast talks in the BBC series "Lift up Your Hearts," have been published in full in the March issue of "The Layman," 1s. 6d. from The Layman Publishing Co. Ltd., Goring, Reading, Berks.

"Peace is being continuously built or demolished by the way we live and act," is the latest poster published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board.

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# THE STORY OF DANILO DOLCI

## Gaoled for helping the hungry

The startling news of the arrest of Italy's social reformer Danilo Dolci for organising a "reverse strike" in Sicily (as reported on page one) is to be viewed against the background of what he has done for the outcast people of the island—and for the peace of the community.

Working throughout in a loving spirit, and strictly non-violent in spite of both Government and Church opposition, his greatest achievement is that he has kindled in north Sicily's former bandits and their destitute, dispirited families a new confidence in themselves and respect for others. This in turn has encouraged the thousands of people from all parts of Italy who have supported Dolci's work and in many cases joined him in living and working among the island's poorest people.

This constructive movement, in striking contrast with the State's futile "policy" of merely trying to suppress outbreaks of crime, is an up-to-the-minute and continuing example of the power of non-violence.

### He gave up career to give hope to the poor

A student of architecture in Trieste was about to sit for his doctorate when he felt inwardly compelled to go and help the Roman Catholic priest, Don Zeno Santini, founder of Nomadelfia, an experiment of a town of "brethren under the law of love."

That is how Danilo Dolci, now 35 years old, came to give up a promising career and cast his lot with the poor and friendless. He gave years of devoted work there.

He came under the powerful influence of Gandhi's social religion and the idea of an "open, liberating religion," devoid of dogma, which was being taught by Aldo Capitini.

As he went about his tasks, a memory of childhood took him back to the days when he lived near the sea in the district of Partinico, in north-west Sicily, where his father was a railwayman. He remembered how they had come in close contact with the poverty-stricken fishermen of the nearby coastal village of Trappeto and the deep impression their condition had made on him.

### he went to Trappeto

Danilo Dolci finally left the community which was about to be broken up by order of the Vatican. He decided he must witness to his religion of works on a wider scale in the liberation of humanity. As a service, he would start a mission of his own in the bandit region of north-west Sicily.

And so in February, 1952 he went back to Trappeto.

With nothing but the clothes he wore, and only 30 lire (less than sixpence) in his pocket, he went to live and work with the poorest people, to get to know and understand them, and to try to discover why they regularly went in for banditry.

He settled in the unhealthiest part of Trappeto, inhabited by derelict farmers and fishermen, and eventually began a systematic inquiry into conditions in every house. In each "home"—it consists of a single room that must serve every need—he found, for an average of six persons, two beds covered with rags, a few worn-out shattered bits of furniture, generally no running water, and even grossly inadequate cooking utensils.

### bread and macaroni

The father, usually the only one in the family earning, works 15-16 hours a day, including travel time, for about 300 lire (4s. 6d.) a day—but for only two-thirds of the year. On rare occasions a ludicrously small dole is granted to an unemployed person, but even more rarely is it regularly paid.

The more fortunate have two meals a day—dry bread in the morning, occasionally with onions or tomatoes, and macaroni in the evenings. Owing to lack of means and inadequate public assistance, even the seriously ill get no treatment.

Nearly all the adults are illiterate, and few young people complete primary school before going out to some menial job or farm work. No-one reads or has any cultural interest whatever.

A documented study of Trappeto's 350 outlaws showed that each had spent an average of one year in school and well over eight-and-a-half in prison. None earned enough to keep himself and his family.

The State's idea of checking banditry by bloody repression at a cost of 2,500,000 lire has left the causes unaltered.

Among these is the daily wholesale extraction of fish by motor boats. Thousands of tons of fish were removed by them in two years while the old fishing village goes hungry. Dolci protested to the authorities about it scores of times without result.

### suffering shared

Danilo Dolci, at a loss to know how to cope with this awful situation, began to feel his sense of helplessness weighing unbearably

on him. Then one autumn day a baby died in his arms because its mother had no milk nor money to buy powdered milk.

Once again Dolci made a dramatic decision expressive of his oneness with suffering humanity: he would lie in the baby's own bed and stay there fasting till the State gave him by the million to begin work of salvation and redemption.

Word of this desperate decision spread like a forest fire. Newspapers reported it under banner headlines. After seven days a cheque for 1,000,000 lire arrived from Restivo, President of the Sicilian Region, and Dolci, his heart by now beating only feebly, ended his fast and determined to renew the active struggle.

With the money he bought land and built a home for destitute children, which housed thirty when, two years ago, it was handed over to the Association for the Southern Regions to keep it going. Then they built a large hall,

### by Giovanni Pioli

who knows Danilo Dolci personally and was one of the original group who realised the greatness of the reformer's self-imposed task of redeeming the people of one of the most backward areas of Italy with unconquerable faith in the power of love and the capacity of even the most degraded people to respond.

Giovanni Pioli, now 80 years of age, is a retired professor. He has been a pacifist for years and is the Representative in Italy of the War Resisters' International.

This article has been forwarded to Peace News by the War Resisters' International.

called it the People's University, and used it as an educational, social, and recreational centre for Trappeto and the neighbourhood.

Other buildings they put up were offices, a little house for the family of a chronic invalid, a pharmacy, and two more hospitals. They made roads, dug sewers, and even installed a telephone.

### supporters rally

People in all parts of Italy heard of his example and of the remarkable way in which the hitherto dispirited Sicilians were helping themselves to recover and were working with Dolci and the groups of helpers who, especially in the summer, go and join in his work. In this way thousands of Italians have responded to his appeals for support.

In some towns a number of people promised monthly contributions to a scheme to irrigate 25,000 acres of countryside with water from the river Gato so as to increase agricultural production fivefold. With this steady financial help and technical advice from Palermo's agricultural college a Trust for Irrigation had been formed by October 1952 to put the scheme into operation.

In mid-1953 Dolci had moved his headquarters to Partinico, although he was still burned with the urgent needs of Trappeto, where the educational problem had scarcely begun to be tackled, and debts amounted to something like 1,000,000 lire.

### compelling facts

In Partinico, a town of 25,000 inhabitants, his groups of helpers developed an aspect of the work that has contributed so largely to bringing the facts about the people's appalling conditions to the notice of the nation. This has consisted of making thorough inquiries on the spot and, on the basis of them, preparing and publishing authoritative documents and publicity material. These have none of the dryness of official reports but make compelling, though ghastly, reading.

One dated August 1954, for instance, says that of 900 families in the Via della Madonna district of Partinico, 400 were in great need, 161 of them because the fathers were in prison or were outlawed ex-convicts or had been killed.

One hundred and thirty seven of the fathers of the 400 families were illiterate. In some families or 15 or 16, none had ever attended school.

Families of prisoners were left without any effective means of support. Some prisoners were atrociously tortured by the police.

Wells were excavated alongside sewage pits. Fifty liras purchased a prostitute, for prostitution was commonplace.

There were 17 cases of serious mental illness discovered.

The investigators commented:

"Yet we found among them not even one pathological criminal. On the contrary, we met God's children, suffering sometimes atrociously, in hopeless plights. They were no cases for jails, and still less for machine guns, but abundant cases for education, work and hospitals."

"The fact that rich people were not among those in prison bears witness not to the honesty of the well-to-do but to the extreme lack of justice. The result of our first study was an open invitation to make practical reparation to those who have been so sinned against."

The 161 fathers already mentioned had previously earned—often only with the help of their children—400-500 lire (5s. - 6s.) a day as cattle herders for six or at most eight months in the year. For yielding to temptation in their efforts to keep their families alive during the rest of the year, 14 were killed, two given life sentences, and the others sent to prison for an average of five years. The sentences of 17 women totalled 83 years in prison and 43 years "controlled liberty."

### "lend a hand"

After surveying his new field of activity Dolci realised that State "remedies" were totally inadequate and often applied by the police in a rough way and wrong spirit. He wondered what private initiative could do, and the call went out: "We need the assistance of any people of goodwill who can come and see the situation for themselves and lend a hand; we especially need teachers, doctors, social workers, and artisans."

Last October he issued a bulletin outlining progress to date, indicating what still needed doing, and proposing a new plan of campaign. Under this they would urge the authorities to start the most essential public works, foremost of which was a dam for the irrigation scheme. They would make a detailed and expert study of the unemployment situation. Arrangements would be made for all children to attend school until the age of 13, and efforts would be made to open an adult evening school and a public library. Excursions to the seaside would be run for the little children of Partinico. Distribution of goods to those in greatest need would, of course, continue.

Persons interested in the plan will be taken to Trappeto and shown that the world can change. A shelter for homeless children has been established in Rorgo di Dios.

His efforts were met by a Decree of the Prefect of Palermo ordering Danilo Dolci to close the home in which he sheltered and nourished the orphaned or uncared for children "of tubercular or imprisoned parents, or even worse, of families in ruin."

The Prefect ordered that these children be "returned to their families" or entrusted to other "suitable institutions." But the one hundred and twenty uncared for children could not return to dissolved families nor enter institutions which did not exist, so remained in Trappeto, a township of about 28,000 inhabitants.

Books as well as pamphlets and bulletins have now been written by Danilo Dolci and the men and women associated with him, and this literature is widely read and respected among Italian social workers, pacifists, and humanitarians of all religious and political creeds.

### men who love humanity

They consist mostly of interviews with separate families in miserable garrets, photographs of misery and dirt, people suffering from hunger and chronic diseases without any medical treatment. The literature is interwoven with stories of crimes; texts of letters; short essays by children on the new feelings and ideas inspired in them by their educators.

Danilo Dolci and his co-workers have from the beginning truly identified themselves with the poverty-stricken people. They share the periods of starving, the rough garments, the lodging in the primitive conditions, however clean.

"No-one should dream of coming here in his or her best clothes," Dolci warns the people of goodwill who offer to help him. "They must not expect to find good lodgings or their accustomed food and comfort; nor to escape, in their contacts with the people, dirt, stench, or repelling spectacles, material and moral."

"To live the lives of well-to-do people would seem by comparison an insult to the people with whom they should be in close contact, and would result in estrangement, the sealing of their mouths and masking of their faces," said Dolci. "We need all people who have a love for humanity."

Such are the conditions in which Danilo Dolci and his co-workers are raising the people's morale, inspiring them with self-confidence and solidarity, and helping them to help themselves without violence. It is great work and it is only beginning.

### Dolci stings the conscience

IN his writings, Dolci aims not at inspiring the grateful feeling of "Thank God we in the North spared the experience of such abject degradation poverty," nor even the feeling that in order to free oneself from the burden of responsibility it is enough to send a contribution—a drop in the sea—to the wonderful work of Danilo Dolci and Company.

Rather, he aims at raising a tumult in the conscience of the readers: the sharp feeling that the responsibility for what is happening in Trappeto, Partinico, Montelupre, Balestrate, Borgetto—not to speak of similar spots—lies with them.

"Either we have become acquainted with a situation like this, and then are a mass of dishonest people if we allow ourselves to be only spectators and leave things to go on as they are; or we do not realise it as it is, in which case we are ignorant of our own human family situation. We should feel duty-bound, as a minimum of honesty, to get fully acquainted with the facts, then to acquaint others with the facts and then to provide the means of remedying the situation before we resume our former lives in accordance with our newly enlightened consciences."

### ANSWER THE STARVING

"What sublimities can a philosopher discover, what marvellous views can an artist reveal, what education can parents give to their children, if they do not feel the urgent duty of the moment—rushing to save someone who is actually drowning? I want to impress upon you the well-founded suggestion that in this district where 50 per cent of the 50,000 people are starving and many escape death only by trespassing on other people's rights, someone is actually dying of starvation because we have lent no helping hand."

"To shoot these people is no remedy. On the contrary it is a display of banditry on a wider scale—more successful only because it is stronger. It is a work of justice to march against the population in dire need."

"To sow streets and country lanes with armed guards and carabinieri, to open temporary yards to give work to those of the unemployed thousands who cry the loudest, is not enough! People are dying with exasperation..."

### HEAR LITTLE CHILDREN

"Come and watch the quarrels between members of the same family when clothes are distributed to those most in need, and food to those whose hunger is so furious they bite the hands stretched forth to appease it; the displays induced by vulgarised egotistic urgings; the fury of people lacking education to control themselves, with minds deadened by the morally sick climate in which they are confined."

"Come and hear the plans which little children of imprisoned or murdered parents confide to one another before falling into troubled sleep."

"What horrible vengeance their children souls plot if they are not taught to suppress their 'kisses' even to those who may imprison or kill their father—if they have not already done so! But instead of being grateful to us for sparing them future vengeance, the oppressors sow difficulties on our path, because we behave differently from them and from other people."

### WRITINGS OF DANILO DOLCI

1. In July, 1953 "Will Another Bandit Die of Starvation Next Winter?" Documentary information on "Vallone" in Trappeto.
2. In September, 1953 Second part of same enquiry; conducted by another group of social servants from all parts of Italy and published under the responsibility of Danilo Dolci.
3. In 1954 A cyclostyled Diary of January and February, 1953.
4. In 1954 "Diary For Friends" of events of the campaign in March-April 1954.
5. In 1954 "Let us act quickly and well, because people die" (Published in Florence, "La Nuova Italia").
6. In 1954 A Report read at the Congress on "The Problem of Backward Areas" Pub. in Milan.
7. August, 1954, The first part of a documentation on two suburbs of Partinico: "How many more people will hang themselves? How many more will be driven insane? How many more will die unhappy and wretched in Partinico?"
8. Second part of No. 7, on the situation in Partinico itself; also a Diary on Trappeto (not for sale).
9. In 1955 "Partinico in Italia" (Bari; "Latero").
10. October, 1955, A cyclostyled report on Trappeto. "What has been done up to the present; what ought to be done and in our plan to do, at once; what is wanted, what is needed." Followed by a detailed statement of the funds needed to cover debts incurred and more urgent expenses for work in Trappeto and Partinico.

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# Letters to the Editor

## The eleventh hour

MOST of us concluded, after the Commons debate, that capital punishment had virtually been abolished. After Sir Anthony's speech this is by no means so certain. A great moral victory has been won, but, if it is to be converted into a final legislative victory, a determined expression of public opinion during the next few months will be essential. We shall accordingly be carrying on our campaign with undiminished vigour, and have already made arrangements for a great meeting at the Festival Hall on May 24.

If victory were to be snatched from our grasp at the eleventh hour, owing to a failure to mobilise public opinion, this would indeed be grievous.

**VICTOR GOLLANCZ,**  
National Campaign for the  
Abolition of Capital Punishment.

14 Henrietta St.,  
W.C.2.

## 189 dead

FOR this horrible tragedy in the Sudan your commentator very naturally finds a parallel in the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. But to get a balanced view one need not go so far back as that.

A hundred years after the "Black Hole" incident, 66 Indian prisoners, taken during the Mutiny of 1857 (known in India as "The First War of Independence"), were confined in a dungeon where 45 of them died of suffocation. The survivors were shot.

Holmes, in his "History of the Mutiny," described this as a "splendid assumption of authority" and deplored the fact that the official responsible was "assailed by the hysterical cries of ignorant humanitarians."

In the Moplah Rebellion of 1921 over 80 of our prisoners died of asphyxiation in railway vans.

Edward Thompson, in his short History of India, remembered this still recent incident when writing of the "Black Hole," and described the latter as an instance of "the same kind of stupid brutality that our own record contains"—specifically referring to the Moplah incident.

While such incidents are always, and quite rightly condemned outright by all humane people, I think that one point should be carefully observed, and that is the official reaction and that of the historians.

Suraj-ad-dowla, the "villain" of the "Black Hole" does not appear to have shown any remorse at what happened. British historians have long disagreed about it; but some, at least, have had the grace to admit that it was our own (i.e. "John Company's") jail and typical of jail conditions in that time—so that the responsibility was shared by those who unwittingly made a death-trap for their countrymen.

In 1857 there was no sign that our Government was in any way ashamed of the atrocities committed, deliberately or otherwise, in suppressing the Mutiny. Few English writers showed any shame—though there were some honourable exceptions.

By 1921 such an incident could and did shock the British public, when it was made aware; and the Government was at least not proud of its achievement. Today the Sudanese Government appears to be deeply concerned and nobody has defended, still less applauded, this "stupid brutality" as Edward Thompson would have called it.

May I suggest that, in spite of the fright-

fulness of the incident itself, we have here some measure of progress.

**REGINALD REYNOLDS.**

20 Jubilee Place,  
Chelsea.

## Letter from South Africa

THERE is no doubt about it—there is an awakening in South Africa. We have had Professor B. B. Keet's fearless condemnation of apartheid and the European colour prejudice in the Union.

Professor Keet is head of the Dutch Reformed Church Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch University. That he should denounce the idea of white superiority, explode the arguments that have been used to prove that the Bible justifies colour prejudice and call for a complete change of attitude, is indeed epoch making.

**SUZANNE STEVEN.**

Transvaal.

## Clara Cole

RECENTLY I had the good fortune to have a visit from Clara Cole, of whose death a short notice appears in your issue of March 4.

Our last meeting was when we parted after three months in the Northampton House of Correction in 1915. Yet I found her as vital and full of vision, and of hatred of all forms of cruelty—from war to vivisection—as in those bad, or shall I say "good old days."

Our months spent together in prison were certainly good, for we knew that we were in bondage to the cause of good will throughout the world.

There was but one difference between us—Clara, honest to the backbone in her testimony had stood before the Bench of Magistrates as an agnostic.

She prophesied the coming of a day when men and women would be ashamed of the very thought of participation in war, whereas I as a Christian pacifist, commenced my "Defence" with the quotation from Galatians: "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy and peace against such there is no law," and was able to show that that could no longer be said (though read in all the Churches) since we stood before them pleading for peace by arbitration at the first possible moment.

Once in prison the result of this difference was that, whilst I went to the service in the little chapel every day, Clara's intellectual integrity would not allow her to avail herself of this "break" to the monotony of her cell.

Moreover whereas I had a weekly visit from a Quaker woman "chaplain," the Home Office refused to allow Clara a visitor from the Ethical Society for which she applied.

But there was throughout no disunity in spirit between us. Among the various recollections that come back to me over the 40 years—amusing or otherwise—the most precious is that of an awareness of her sensitive personality as one morning she walked beside me in the prison garden.

Her head in the white floating head-dress worn by women prisoners was seen against the sky, for Clara was taller than I. Suddenly she quite quietly exclaimed: "What an endless thing a creed of love is." It was as if the very truth of the words uttered escaped from them "on viewless wings."

I had the joy of reminding her of that incident when we met recently.

**ROSA HOBHOUSE.**

Broxbourne, Herts.

# GANDHI'S SHADOW OVER ALABAMA

## FROM PAGE TWO

residence for specialist's treatments and a period of rest. She intends to go back to Alabama after a week here.

Mr. Marshall said that besides the five lawyers on the case, a half-dozen of the outstanding law-school faculties are doing research for them.

He also stated that the Alabama legislature was out to harass Miss Lucy and the NAACP. Other states have already commenced procedures to outlaw the NAACP and to make it a criminal offence to criticise the state.

Henceforth, I shall add "yet" to the statement, "We are not as bad as South Africa."

As yet Mr. Eisenhower has made no move to call a bi-racial committee to Washington for the purpose of working out a peaceful solution to the American dilemma.

## ADLAI STEVENSON

He has been put on the spot by Mr. Stevenson, a conservative Democrat who has caused the liberals in this country no small amount of discomfort with his hedging on the race issue during his presidential campaigning a few weeks ago.

It was he who threw the above mentioned political bone to placate his New Deal supporters who were in the unenviable position of supporting a man who characterised the de-humanising practice of Jim Crow as an old and established institution which cannot be upset overnight and which must be viewed with patience and moderation.

Both he and Governor Folsom of Alabama have tried to serve two masters. Folsom's statement after Miss Lucy came here to New York was, "Maybe that's the end of the Lucy Affair!"

Previously he had promised full protection to her if she were readmitted.

Earlier in the week, he personally welcomed a Negro reporter present at a Press conference, and then reassured his "votes" that they need not fear that he would break up the Southern tradition.

## MONTGOMERY

The Montgomery, Alabama boycott, over twelve weeks old, seems to be hardening now into a long drawn-out fight.

The recent arrest of over 100 of the Negro leaders and bombing of two of their homes has only served to make the rank and file more determined to see the struggle through to the finish.

The whites of Montgomery are both frightened and resentful of the boycotters. They are resentful because they have been "betrayed" as one of the police officers put it. "We always had good relations with the Negroes here. I thought I knew them, but now I just don't know."

For the edification of my English readers, a good Negro is one who sits all whites over 12, who gets up to give a white his seat on the bus, who cooks, scrubs, cleans a white woman's kitchen for six or seven dollars a week and who never forgets that white is right.

Now the Negro is asking for the bare minimum of humane treatment and this is a threat to all of the elaborate lies the American white in general and the Southern white in particular have built up to justify their exploitation and maltreatment of the Negro.

## LOVE MAKES THEM UNEASY

They are fearful because they know that on the one hand they must, and yet for reasons of vanity, cannot retreat; on the other hand, they know that the longer they hold out, the more they are going to have to give up.

This has already become quite clear in the Montgomery case. At first the Negroes only wanted more courtesy from white drivers.

After the Rosa Parks incident, they asked only that coloured drivers be put on the Negro routes. Now they are asking for a first come, first served basis for seating.

And there have been intimations in the recent speeches and statements by leaders and rank and filers, that they want discrimination done away with in Montgomery.

The idea of complete integration has not as yet hardened and crystallised within the boycott group, but it will because the whites are risking all in order to "save face."

The whites may never have heard of Gandhi, but they are very uneasy about people who come out of jail after being finger-printed and photographed like common rascals, and who preach love and brotherhood, who tell their friends and neighbours not to hate.

This is a further cause of frustration for if only a Negro would attack or shove some white around, it would lend an excuse for "whippin' a few black heads" or maybe "killin' a couple to scare the rest."

## "IT GETS AWFULLY QUIET"

In the din of a race riot no one would hear the first shot or care from whence it came.

But when a man is praying and declaring his love even for his oppressor, it gets awfully quiet and any shot fired would echo in the hearts of men of peace around the world. Everybody would know who fired that shot.

As Guy Richard, a New York Journal-American reporter, said, the shadow of Gandhi looms over Montgomery. As yet it is more Gandhi the strategist, but more and more Gandhi the humanitarian is evolving out of this milieu.

When the two merge, being courteous to blacks on a segregated bus will not be enough.

The special day set aside last week during which Negroes vowed to put away their cars and taxis and walk everywhere was a complete success.

A white Lutheran minister joined the pilgrimage and several more courageous whites shook hands and marched with the participants.

## THE TERRIBLY MEEK

Letters and telegrams from all over the country poured into Montgomery. A week before, the Negroes turned down (3,988 to 2) a proposal for more seats and more courtesy, in favour of complete integration.

Gandhi the humanitarian, who believed that submission to oppression was as great a sin as commission of the same, is already on the move.

During a mass meeting the night before the special day, six policemen and two fire trucks were stationed outside the church where the meeting was held.

The people inside were preaching love and reaffirming their non-violent position, whilst outside their opponents futilely rattled their sabres in an effort to turn aside the power of the terribly meek.

I could not help but think of Xerxes vainly lashing the sea for having sunk his proud fleet.

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday March 18, 1955

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.  
(Near Bond St. Tube)

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**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday morning before publication.

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## MEETINGS

**INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE OF THE WORK CAMP MOVEMENT?** Come to Mahatma Gandhi Hall tomorrow. See Diary for full details.

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**LONDON:** Weekend Workshops, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

## SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

## TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

## THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.  
**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

# DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and Secretary's address).

## Friday, March 16

**LANCASTER:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Gp. Mtg. PPU.

## Saturday, March 17

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.30 p.m.; Mahatma Gandhi Hall Indian Students Hostel, Fitzroy Sq., "The future of the Work Camp movement," a public discussion as part of the 21st of IVSP, with Ralph Heggner, John Harvey, Hans-Peter Muller, Jean Inebnit, etc. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., "Some problems of the pacifist teacher," Marjorie Mitchell, M.Sc. All welcome. Notify if possible. Education Commission, PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., Mr. Euston St. 186 From the Inside," Mohan Lall, Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

**PLYMOUTH:** 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Settlement, Mount St. "The Christian and War," Rev. Clifford H. Macquire. For.

**RUGBY:** 7.30 p.m.; 67 Albert St., Gp. Mtg. Frederick Forder. PPU and others interested. PPU.

## Wednesday, March 21

**CROYDON:** 8 p.m.; Gallery Room, Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Hildegarde Meyer, "Christian Peacemaking in Europe." For.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 6.30 p.m.; Caxton Hall, Westminster. AGM No Constitution Council. Business meeting (for members) followed at 8 p.m. by Brains Trust (for public) with Frank Owen, Donald Soper, and others. Further parties. No Constitution Council, Crestfield St., W.C.1.

## Thursday, March 22

**CLAPHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; St. Barnabas Room, St. Barnabas Church, North Side. AGM. Batterssea and Wandsworth Gp. PPU.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

## Friday, March 23

**MANCHESTER:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. "The Christian and War," Rev. Clifford H. Macquire. For.

**RUGBY:** 7.30 p.m.; 67 Albert St., Gp. Mtg. Frederick Forder. PPU and others interested. PPU.

## Saturday, March 24

**EPSOM:** 4.30 p.m.; Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. Refreshments and Peace Bookstall. 7 p.m. "Children of Hiroshima." Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashstead, Surrey (Ashstead 4016) Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

**MUSWELL HILL:** 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., "Bring and Buy" sale. 4.30 p.m.; Speaker from Cyprus. Adm. Is., including tea. Labour Peace Fellowship.

## Tuesday, March 27

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8.45 p.m.; The Vicarage Room, Aston. "Children of Hiroshima," Cert. "X" film. PPU.

## Wednesday, March 28

**SUTTON COLDFIELD:** 7.30 p.m.; Central Library, Newhall St. entrance. "Children of Hiroshima," Cert. "X" film. For.

## Thursday, March 29

**BIRMINGHAM:** 1. 7.30 p.m.; Midland Institute (cinema), Paradise St. "Children of Hiroshima," Cert. "X" film. PPU.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "The Problem of Germany," Elsie Pracey. PPU.

## LO DOLO

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**VEGETARIAN COOKERY.** Write to Mrs. Isabel James, Rothay Bank, Gramere, Westmorland, for particulars of courses, March 17-24 and April 7-14. Arranged by the Vegetarian Catering Association.

**US COMMITTEE AGAINST MILITARISATION** wants International Peace-Monitors to write frequent peace-toned letters to editors and influence millions of readers of largest circulation USA newspapers. Of its Director's 576 letters to editors in 1955, at least 100 were printed, over 39 million copies, in 22 different cities in USA, Canada, Ceylon, India, and other nations. Please send personal information and sample of your letters to Albert Hofman, 6327 S May, Chicago 21, Ill., USA.

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(not Caxton Hall as previously announced)

Wednesday, March 21, 1956, at 8 p.m.

Organised by No Conscription Council, Crestfield St., W.C.1., from whom tickets (2s. 6d. and free) may be obtained.

## Public Meeting

## FATHER HUDDLESTON

A Statement on South Africa and Questions.

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Friday, April 6th, 7.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

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## THE FUTURE OF THE WORK CAMP MOVEMENT

A public discussion as part of the 21st Annual General Meeting of IVSP, with Ralph Heggauer, John Harvey, Hans-Peter Muller, Jean Inebnit, etc.

SATURDAY, 17th March, 6.30 p.m. at Indian Students Hostel, Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1.

## SYBIL MORRISON

## White Paper witch hunt

*It is right to continue the practice of tilting the balance in favour of offering greater protection to the security of the State rather than in the direction of safeguarding the rights of the individual.*—Statement of Findings of Conference of Privy Counsellors on Security" (Cmd. 9715. HMSO 6d.).

SO long as nations are prepared to accept the method of war as an arbiter in disputes and disagreements, so will the spy system continue to be a national necessity.

"Spy" is an unpleasant word; so unpleasant that it is usual to avoid its use except in accusation against an enemy. Secret Intelligence Service has a more pleasing and high-sounding tone. But in spite of wrapping up the unpleasant word, the unpleasant fact of the existence of a spy system still remains.

It also remains an unpleasant fact that spies are not always men and women from foreign countries, but are sometimes nationals of the country upon whose secrets they spy, and whose secrets they betray, for reasons either of money to be earned, or because of sympathy with the ideology of the enemy.

The case of Maclean and Burgess belongs to this category, and because of the publicity given to it, and the natural public dismay, a

## To discuss nuclear energy

BELIEVING that the issues arising out of nuclear energy developments are of paramount importance in discussing the problem of peace and war, the National Peace Council is holding in London on March 24 a conference at which the panel of speakers will consist of two Churchmen: the Bishop of Chichester and Fr. Illtud Evans, OP; a medical physicist: Prof. J. Rotblat; a politician: Mr. Frank Beswick, MP, and a Christian pacifist: Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

Organisations sending delegates will not be committed to any conference statement.

Secretaries of organisations wishing to have fuller information about the conference should apply at once to the National Peace Council, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

## IN EREWHON TODAY: VIII

By Dick Darlington

DEAR DICK:

You ask me in your usual naive way who "we" are. You tell me that in your country you are governed by the people for the people.

Well, I just don't understand; unless you mean government of the common people, by the people, for the people. That's us. We are the people who matter.

"The" people are those we allow to rise to executive positions provided they govern in our interests. Some of them have risen from the ranks of the workers, but of course, they have had to break all real connections with the common people.

We don't mind them going back to their home towns and mixing with their old friends, making speeches to them and all that; but they must not betray any of our secrets.

They are usually pretty safe because we don't pay them enough to make them independent.

The acid test of their loyalty to US is their attitude to the armed forces. If they should retain in any strength their working-class dislike for war preparations, we take jolly good care they never get into any position of real authority.

Indeed, if one of US should happen to get the peace-making bee into his bonnet, he is doomed to social extinction. That happened to Noj-y-Elrom, a very notable Erewhonian.

No-one who ever made a real stand for peace and disarmament has ever succeeded in getting any of the political plums.

We, therefore, and the few whom we raise from the ranks of the workers and who toe the military line laid down for them, are always in control. There may appear to be changes, but we are always behind the scenes.

If peace itself is being celebrated, we take good care the military dominate the scene. We never let up on that.

Sincerely,  
YDOBON.

Conference of Privy Counsellors was set up to examine what is called the "security procedures" in this country.

This Conference has now made its recommendations, which have all been accepted by the Government, and which are embodied in the Government White Paper from which the above quotation is taken.

It has been the proud boast of this country that the rights of the individual are paramount, and that the loss of those rights in Hitler's Germany, and in the Soviet Union, was something to be deeply deplored and strongly resisted.

Now, we are informed, that this is no longer the over-riding consideration; and further, we learn that not only a man who is a Communist, but a man whose wife, or associates, are Communists is to be removed and barred from secret work, and must realise that it "may have an unfavourable effect on his prospects of promotion."

Even greater stress is laid, however, upon what is termed "character defects" since it is alleged that such defects "tend to make a man unreliable or expose him to blackmail or influence by foreign agents." "There is a duty," this document states, "on departments to inform themselves of serious failings such as drunkenness, addiction to drugs, homosexuality or any loose living that may seriously affect a man's reliability."

This linking of homosexuality with "loose living," drunkenness and drug-addiction, may mean not only the "purging" of men of personal integrity, and of no mean calibre in their work, but may also bring them as individuals into a disrepute which is quite unjustifiable, and from which there may be no recovery.

To detect such failings as excessive drinking or drug-taking, would be perfectly natural for any employer since it would be likely to be reflected in the work of such people; but to discover whether a man is a homosexual, or whether he is living immorally, would necessitate an investigation into his private life which is a gross violation of his ordinary human rights.

To set up a spy system of this nature is a degrading and detestable procedure under any circumstances, and not to be justified by pleas of State security.

The freedom, to preserve which it is alleged two world wars have been fought, seems to be considerably frayed, and indeed almost to have lost its meaning.

"Tilting the balance" in favour of the State rather than the individual has led in other countries to complete loss of balance, resulting in wholesale "purges" of suspected, and often innocent people.

We have not reached that stage yet, but the balance is certainly tilting the wrong way, and the witch hunt is on. It makes it strikingly clear that there can be no freedom until there is freedom from war.

## CORRECTION

Last week's Peace News stated that Mr. Achieng was "promptly" arrested after his return to Kenya from England.

The arrest took place several months after his return.

## Conscription conference for teenagers

From GWEN PAINE

THE Conscription Conference, for boys between the ages of 16 and 18, which the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers) organises annually, will this year be held at Whan Cross, Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., from Mon., April 9 to Wed., April 11.

They have been fortunate in securing as leaders for this Conference Harold Guite, M.A. and Sidney White, and as in former years there will be group discussion, in which the boys themselves will take an active part.

Harold Guite is Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation Young Committee and a member of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation General Committee. He is a Lecturer in Classics in the University of Manchester.

Sidney White, a Birmingham Quaker, is a schoolmaster. He is a member of both the Central Board and the Midland Regional Board for Conscientious Objectors.

The cost for the whole conference will be 31s. 0d. Applications should be sent to the Secretary, Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1 as soon as possible.

## Vegetarian Catering Association

Some undertake diets and all have a "concern" for wholesome foods, unchemicalised.

Tasty, attractive dishes, plentiful salads and wholesome bread, are assured. Non-vegetarians are welcome.

Recently, in the Cookery Competitions at the Hotel and Catering Exhibition, Olympia, London, members won the Challenge Cup, gold, silver and bronze medals in the Vegetarian Class, open to all. Descriptive list of guest houses and restaurants from V.C.A., 43 Lancaster Grove, London, N.W.1.

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LIVING RELIGION. Lecturers: Maurice A. Creasey and Harold Loukes.  
 FEES (including a non-returnable booking fee of 5s.): £2 15s. from Friday supper to Sunday tea.

Applications to: George Gorman, Friends' Home Service Committee, Room A, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

## WOODBROOKE THREE WEEKS COURSE JUNE 16th-JULY 1st

Several short courses will be given on Quaker, Biblical and International subjects during the last three weeks of the summer term. There will also be opportunity for more specialised study in small groups. Priority will be given to those who can stay the whole time.

FEES (including a non-returnable booking fee of 10s.): £16 for the full time, or £6 per week.

Applications to: William A. Comber, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham

## WOODBROOKE SUMMER SCHOOL AUGUST 4th-10th

(Children of five years and upwards are welcome)

QUAKERISM TODAY. Lecturers: Herbert G. Wood, Horace G. Alexander, Mary F. Smith, and Howard Wadman. Host and Hostess: Herbert G. and Dorothea Wood. Special arrangements are made for the care and supervision of the children who will have their own programme. FEES (including a non-returnable booking fee of 10s.): £5 10s. for the week; Children of 5-9 years: £2 12s. 6d.; Children of 10 and over: £3 15s.

Applications to: L. Hugh Doncaster, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham